592 slaves living within the compound as part of the household may
567 be children or young girls, or they may be chirs. Murshe who
565 bear children are freed by virtue of being the mother of their
[428] master's child, though they remain murshe. Such a child inherits equally with children borne to a wife.

592 At present there are many powerful and wealthy household
556 heads who are not members of the aristocracy or royalty. These
565 men, though they do not own slaves, are important men in the larger towns, and their households reflect their wealth and
592 their social importance. Included as part of their household
• 597 may be children who have been given to them and are their adopted sons. Children are frequently given by their parents to individuals in other households, where they grow up. There are two types of 'giving': a child may be given to a close relative, such as to one's childless brother or to one's mother, whose children are all grown and whose house is now empty. A man blessed with many children of his own will give a child to a
592 relative. Another sort of giving involves naming the child
597 after an important man (the child's chibuna). The chibuna then
557 has the option of asking for the child after it is weaned, or
[553] later, so that the child will grow up in his household as his adopted son. A child growing up as part of an important man's household will have many possibilities open to him, possibilities not available to the common man. The parents make the initial choice when they name the child, indicating that they would wish their son to grow up in his chibuna's household. The

592 important man then exercises his choice by asking for the child
597 should he observe it to be bright and attractive, or neglecting
557 to ask should he for some reason not want the child. The child is usually given at the time of weaning. If the child is given to his chibuna, he does not return to visit his real parents, as there is shame (nungu) involved, though he will not call his adopted parent "my mother", or "my father." A man treats his adopted son (his chibuna--a reciprocal term) just as he would
[428] treat his own son. However, the boy does not inherit from his
[583] chibuna. The head of the household does supply his adopted son with a bride-price when he marries.

557 Many boys are named after nobles, after Lowans and Ajias.
592 Some of these chibuna are taken into the aristocratic household,
597 though a good many are not and grow up in their true father's
565 household. Certain talaka household heads have become very wealthy in the recent years, and have three or even four wives and very large households. Neighbors and acquaintances may name their sons after these men, who may then take their young chibuna into their household. It is clear, therefore, that size and composition of one's household is related to the old system of social stratification (royalty, aristocracy, talaka, slaves), since slaves are part of the household of both royalty and aris-
[178] tocracy. It is also related to the rise of new classes of people, as a result of changing economic and political conditions, and this can be seen in the giving of children to household heads who are themselves talaka, but have become powerful and wealthy.

[GEIDAM]

Table XIb

Cases of Children Given Away

Aristocracy	2:	to FaYoBr after weaning to FaElSi after weaning	597 • 565
Koranic Malams	1:	to MoMo after weaning	554
Canteen Traders	1:	to cousin after weaning	463
NA Malams	1:	to FaElBr (chibuna) after weaning	
Kabuna	-		
Craftsmen	1:	to neighbor (chibuna) after weaning	
Talaka	1:	to FaMo at age 4	
Low-status	1:	to chibuna at age 11	
	8		

median number of children= .75

mean number of children=1.33

nuri men in this sample have 57 living children. One hundred and eight children had been born to the group, but 51 of these have died. Because of the exceptionally high infant mortality rate, children are greatly desired and prized. In addition to malaria, which is the greatest killer of infants, an extremely high rate of venereal disease is present in Bornu, and a high percentage of those infected are sterile and unable to bear children. One factor in spreading venereal disease is the high divorce rate. Frequent divorce and remarriage spreads the disease throughout the population, and results in many sterile individuals who desperately want children. In their desire for children, they divorce and remarry, thus spreading the disease still further. In particular, if they marry a zogor they are

In particular, if they marry a zogor they are
586 less likely to have children than if they marry a kalə yaskə.
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163 This probably accounts for the high birth rate among the Ko-
[192] ranic Malams (one has eight children; one has five); they
have all married kalə yaskəs, so that neither they or their
[56] wives are likely to be infected. On the other hand, in the
[163] lower categories (kabuna, craftsmen, talaka) a majority of
[134] the individuals have had no children at all. Seven of the
eight talaka have no living children. This is the group with
the highest divorce rate, and when they remarry they invari-
ably marry zogors (see Table VIII) so that the chances are
high that either husband or wife will be infected and sterile.

• 597 Table XIb reveals that eight of the 57 children who sur-
842 vived were given away, and grew up in the household of another
602 family. At first, this seems difficult to reconcile with the
great love for children and desire to have children. How-
ever, those who have borne a child have indicated their abil-
ity to bear others. Children are frequently given to relatives
who have no children of their own, and who are probably un-
able to bear children but want a child badly. It may be seen
that children are given away to siblings of the parent, to
the child's grandparent, or to the chibuna after whom the
child has been named. Six of the eight were given immediate-
ly after the child was weaned; two were given away at later
ages. Giving of children at later ages is related to frequent
divorce. Since the child belongs to the father, he may send
the child to his mother or father should he, the father, not
have an adequate home at the time.

592 households is there any indication of patrilocal residence and of a patrilocal extended family. The only approximation is found in the cases of elderly mothers living with their married sons, and in the case of married younger brothers with wife and child. More distant relatives are also found; although two cases of ElBrSo are present, in no case is there an elder brother living in the household of his younger brother, where the younger brother is the acknowledged household head. The same is true of a wife's relatives living in the household of her husband. There are six cases of this; four are younger siblings of the wife, one is her ElBrDa, and one a grandson. 592 An older sibling of the wife is nowhere present. The same pat- 586 tern is evident in the zogors who are temporarily a part of a household, after a divorce. A zogor returns to the household of her luwali. Seven zogors are present in the above households. Three are not related to the household head who served as luwali; four are relatives--a YoSi, an ElBrDa, a YoSi of the wife and a cousin.

592 Corresponding to the eight children who were given away • 597 to relatives or to chibuna by the members of the sample are 565 the children given to members of the sample and growing up in 463 their houses. There are six chibuna, young children named [553] after the household head and growing up in his house, who are a part of the present group of households. Four of these are found in the canteen traders, one in the aristocracy, and one 592 (an ElBrSo) among the talaka. It is evident, therefore, that 597

592 chibuna tend to be given to higher-status household heads.
597 The chibuna relationship is also found in the last miscellaneous category which includes a wife's chibuna in one household, and a chibuna of the household head's father plus that 592 man's wife in another household. Friends and friends' children, and finally a Malam, his wife and five students taken into the household as an act of charity, are also found in the miscellaneous category.

592 Most of the households in the sample contain individuals 565 who are not members of the nuclear family of the household 554 463 head. These make up his yal. The mean size of yal (Table XIIb) varies widely from group to group. For five groups it is small (Koranic Malams, kabuna, craftsmen, talaka, low-status individuals), with approximately one additional person in each household. For three groups (aristocracy, canteen traders, NA Malams) the yal is fairly large with the highest mean (4.67 members of the yal) occurring among the canteen traders. Finally, the range in total size of household for each of the eight groups can be seen in the lower right-hand column of [162] Table XIIb. The mean size of household for the group of canteen traders is 10.2, while the mean size of household for the group of talaka is 2.75. This range represents the difference between the nuclear family of Geidam talaka, who have but one wife and very few children, and the household of a wealthy trader, with several wives, children and a large yal.

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as a term of reference. The terms given in the appendix for full and half-siblings are only very rarely used as terms of reference, and never in addressing the person involved. The polite and proper behaviour being the use of sibling terms, and if finer distinctions become necessary, the relationship is referred to descriptively, a very common practice in referring to kinship relations. Informants claimed that the "real" term for ego's father's other wives is ya chintu (far mother) and its reciprocal is tada chintu (far child, male). However, the term is considered derogatory, even in reference, and would only be utilized if there were well developed antagonism between the actors. Ego, in order to be polite, should use the terms of reference and address for Fa-Sis, when speaking of or to his father's other wives. On the other hand, these latter women will never speak of ego as tadanyi (my child, male) as the real Fa-Sis might easily do, but refer to ego as tada kwanyi (my husband's child). The only time the rule is broken is when ego's mother dies and he is adopted by one of his mother's co-wives. Then she is called either ya (mother) or the Fa-Sis term is kept in use, and ego may now be referred to as tadanyi (my male child) by his father's other wife. The same thing occurs between ego and his mother's other husbands besides ego's father. There are reciprocal terms which are derogatory and indicate bad feeling between the parties if they are used - aba chintu (far father) and again tada chintu (far child, male) - whereas rawa (Mo-Bro) is the polite term unless ego wishes to insult his mother's husband. The reciprocally polite term is tada kamunyi (my wife's child, male) or tada kàrəminyi (my Yo-sibling's male child).

[597]

It has been mentioned that siblings rather than use the

553 other as chuwuna and refer and act towards one another in a similar
571 fashion to that of grandparents and grandchildren. For parents this becomes an avenue for showing affection to a collateral relative or a close friend in much the same way as we appoint our own children's
553 god-parents. This naming custom is also a means of establishing
557 profitable relations both for the parents (especially the father) and for the child. Consequently, in the Kanuri state there are a great many children called after District Heads, aristocrats of the state, rich men, and people in high status positions generally. The previous chief of Magumeri District had been a particularly beneficent and popular political leader of the area. When he departed to take up residence in another District he left in his wake a large number of children who had been named after him. The reason for giving names in this way is not only to flatter or honour the person
[597] involved. There is a very conscious awareness that the namesake relation includes the possibility of adoption as frequently occurs in the case of the grandparent-grandchild relation. Thus there is in this extension outwards and often upwards of the chuwuna relation an attempt to better or at least increase the social relations of the family and especially, it is hoped, of the child.

607 There is a joking relationship between ego and his spouse's younger siblings, real and classificatory, of either sex.
[601] Informants are emphatic in denying that it is possible even in joking
[582] to call Wi-Yo-Sie "wife" or "little wife" as do the Hausa.(1) Marriage with Wi-Yo-Sie is taboo unless the present wife is dead. Informants

(1) Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 43

854 shirt, and nothing below the waist, except when they are swaddled to the mother's back. When the baby defecates or urinates indoors, as is often the case, it is cleaned up with no great show of alarm, 853 until the end of the first eighteen months. Breast feeding occurs on demand, and is used as a pacifier.

Childhood

862 [858] [744] With the onset of childhood, which is formalized at eighteen months by weaning, the overt pressures of socialization begin for the young child. No systematic data were gathered on the effects of this formal change-over from breast-feeding. Everyone knew of a wide range of variation in reaction on the part of the infants; some babies wean easily, others require much more training. In the latter case, the more stringent techniques are utilized, but still with a matter of fact, unperturbed attitude towards the inevitability of the weaning procedure.

In most cases the child has a female grandparent either in the compound or nearby. If not, then a senior woman of the compound or of the family helps with the weaning by offering her dry breast as a pacifier. The mother spreads the process over several months by constantly attempting to replace the breast with a cup. When the child runs to its mother desirous of the breast, the parent refers to it negatively, as dirt, or even excrement. With difficult cases bitter tasting grounds of brown leaves are put on the breasts to discourage continued efforts by the child to obtain the mother's milk.

597 It is just after weaning that most Kanuri adoptions take place. A very rough estimate of adoptions, taken from genealogical data, would put the figure at somewhere between 35-45% for the present

597 [565] population of Bornu. The practice seems more frequent among the upper classes of society where the young child and his growing ability to contribute services to the household are a less vital consideration.

[603] As noted in the last chapter the most frequent destination of adoptions is the grandparent and if possible the namesake grandparent. Informants gave, as one reason for this practice, the claim of fondness-affection which the grandparent holds for the child, especially when there is a namesake relationship between them. Another reason, less often reported but still important, is the inability of the young child to behave in the culturally prescribed manner to parents. That there is some validity to this latter view is indicated by the fact that the custom of adoption is not permanent but temporary. It is arranged before the birth of the child, begins just before weaning, and ends [591] around the time of puberty. That is to say, the child returns to his parent's home when he is more able to conform to the social requirements of parent-child, especially father-child relations. Whether this is the reason for adoptions is difficult to say, certainly it is one effect or result of the custom.

597 601 In non-grandparent adoptions the person adopting the child is called by the correct kinship term. If there is no kinship term, the male head of the house is generally addressed as Aba (father), and referred to in the same way or as Aba njima (father of the house), while his wives are addressed and referred to as bawa (Fa-Sis). If there is some special relationship, such as a common name between the 597 child and the compound head, the proper term will be used. At all times 602 during his adoption the child is made aware of his status. He knows who his real parents are, whether or not they are alive and well, where they live and what they do, and who and what his relations are to other people in terms of his real father and mother.

597 people in terms of his real father and mother. The following interview material illustrates these ideas in concrete terms.

I asked Mallam Aba Kiari his opinion of the practice of giving away infants just after they were weaned. He told me that he, himself, had been given away. I asked if this was a [565] good thing. "Oh yes, very, very good," came the reply. He estimated that about four or five out of ten children of the higher ranks of society had been given away after weaning, although he felt that among the peasants the number was much lower because they needed children in their compounds for the help they could give. He had been given to his father's full sister just after he was weaned. This was arranged before he was born. (The informant is the first of two children from the same union). He stayed with his aunt for about nine years, he always called her baya (Fa-Sis). Everyone always told him who his own mother and father were; they lived in the same town and he often went to visit them at [601] their compound. He addressed the husband of his father's sister as baba or aba (father) but always knew that this man was a stranger to him and his family.

I asked him why he thought it was a good thing to give infants away. He answered that it was a very good thing because — if you have a child or perhaps more than one, then your friend, or brother or sister, who have never been able to have any children, experience the joys of parenthood if they are given yours to raise. You lose nothing by doing this kind of thing, for the child is still yours and knows it. [842] Did he not receive his milk at the breast of your wife? Is he not the result of your own sexual intercourse?

597 603 "But most people give their children to its grandparents," I said. "Why is that?"

"Ah, because they (grandparents) love the child very much and will be kind and gentle to it. You are a father and the child must have shame and respect for you, but a very small child knows nothing of such things."

597 571 Whether or not Kanuri adoptions exist for the reasons given by informants, it is certain that they do create, maintain, and strengthen wider social relationships, giving them a solid basis for continuity through time. The links between two residence groups, either in the same kinship system or between different ones, are made concrete and real. The child, by living in intimate contact and having primary social relations both in his biological family and his adoptive family has widened his primary relationships and solidified a definite contin-

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571 uity into his own generation of one link or agent of his parents' relational network in the society.

861 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialization training begins to be applied to the child.
863 Toilet training is geared to the acquisition of walking skills. As soon as the child is able to toddle on its feet the adult woman in whose hut it lives starts enforcing the rule that the child should go outside of the hut, stoop on the ground and use only the left hand for any function having to do with toilet activities. Failure to learn these skills is met with more insistent pressure as time goes on. A young child only recently weaned who cannot accomplish facile toilet functions may not even be scolded. However, with increased age and language skill, admonitions soon begin and are given with increasing frequency; the child is told that it is dirty, bad, and that it must not do such things as urinate on the hut floor. The severity depends upon the particular situation, the age of the child, and the mood and personality of the mother, grandmother, or other socializing agent who may be quite calm on some occasions and rather angry on others. The following excerpt from notes taken by the writer's wife describe a socialization situation:

> If Kachella gana (aged two) visiting my house makes a puddle on the cement floor, his grandmother will ask for a tin of water to pour on the floor and to wash the child, and this will be done either with no comment at all or, "Oh Kachella, look what you have done." On such occasions Kachella does not show much discomfort. But if the child is sleeping on his grandmother's bed and wakes up wet, he may hear, "Get up! get up! You dirty little boy" and so on for four or five minutes. During such an outburst Kachella is liable to be sitting on the floor howling piteously, which gives rise to increased consequences. Another child is told to bring a soft corn stock, which granny waves menacingly as she cautions Kachella to "Stop! Stop! Stop!" and having achieved the desired effect, puts down the corn stock beside her as
000 a warning. We have never seen anyone hit a small child, but